



UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
COLLEGE OF LAW, GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES

ETHNO-RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS: A STUDY OF
NORTH-EASTERN REGION OF NIGERIA (2000-2007).

TIJJANI HALLIRU
Matric No. 92764
hallirutijjani@yahoo.com

SUPERVISOR: PROF. MADYA DR. MOHD FO'AD SAKDAN

CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF. MADYA DR. ROHANA YUSOF

Dissertation submitted to the College of Law, Government and International
Studies University Utara Malaysia in Partial Fulfilment of the requirement for
the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

FEBRUARY, 2012

**CENTRE FOR GRADUATE STUDIES
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA**

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for the postgraduate degree from the Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that the University Library may take it freely available for inspection. I further agree that the permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose may be granted by my supervisor or, in his absence, by the Assistant Vice Chancellor of the College of Law, Government and International Studies. It is understood that any copy or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from my thesis.

Request for permission to copy or make other use of material in this thesis in whole or in part should be addressed to:

**Assistant Vice Chancellor
College of Law, Government and International Studies
Universiti Utara Malaysia
06010 UUM Sintok
Kedah Darul Aman
Malaysia**

ABSTRAK

Nigeria mempunyai masyarakat yang terdiri daripada pelbagai ethno agama yang berpotensi untuk maju dari segi sosial dan ekonomi. Walaupun ramai yang melihat perkembangan ini sebagai manfaat demokrasi namun ada juga yang menggunakan demokrasi sebagai satu wadah untuk meluahkan ketidakpuasan hati mereka. Ini menyebabkan berlakunya konflik ethno agama dan politik yang berterusan. Sejak demokrasi diamalkan semula pada Mei 1999, lebih daripada seratus konflik bermotifkan ethno agama dan politik telah berlaku di negara ini. Kajian ini bertujuan mengenal pasti faktor yang menjadi punca konflik ini dan mengapa konflik ini berterusan berdasarkan insiden konflik ethno agama dan politik yang berlaku di antara tahun 2000-2007 di Nigeria. Selain itu, kajian ini juga mengkaji ancaman konflik ini kepada kerajaan yang dipilih berdasarkan proses demokrasi. Khususnya kajian ini menelusuri sejarah konflik ethno agama dan politik di Nigeria dan menegaskan bahawa konflik ini sebenarnya berakar ubi dari isu kolonialisme/penjajahan yang disokong oleh tentera kuku besi Nigeria. Kontradiksi dalam kerajaan persekutuan Nigeria memburukkan lagi keadaan ini. Data bagi kajian ini dikumpulkan melalui dua instrument: temu bual mendalam separa struktur yang dibentuk berdasarkan kajian literatur dan perbincangan fokus berkumpulan. Temu bual berkenaan melibatkan 90 responden manakala sesi perbincangan fokus berkumpulan dijalankan dengan ahli yang mewakili 6 buah negeri di daerah utara-timur Nigeria. Analisis data pula dijalankan secara kualitatif. Kajian ini juga menghurai latar belakang konflik ethno agama dan politik secara umum, membincangkan punca konflik dan menerangkan konsep penting dengan rujukan khusus kepada konflik berkenaan di daerah utara-timur Nigeria. Dapatan kajian telar menunjukkan bahawa factor ketiadaan toleransi, kemiskinan yang berpunca daripada pengangguran, rasuah, buta huruf, kejahilan, kegetiran ekonomi dan kepimpinan yang lemah merupakan halangan utama kepada proses perdamaian, perpaduan dan kestabilan politik. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahawa pentadbiran yang baik, akauntabiliti, pengurangan kadar kemiskinan dan pengangguran, reformasi pendidikan serta penstrukturan semula kerajaan persekutuan di Nigeria merupakan isu utama yang mesti ditangani bagi mengawal impak konflik ethno agama dan politik. Kajian ini bermanfaat kepada penyelidik yang berminat untuk mengkaji konseptualisasi dengan lebih mendalam bagi memahami konflik ethno agama dan politik di Nigeria. Dapatan ini juga berguna kepada pembuat polisi, ahli politik, organisasi agama, masyarakat awam dan organisasi bukan kerajaan yang berminat untuk memahami isu yang mendasari konflik sebegini dan pengurusannya.

Kata kunci: Konflik politik, ethno-agama, penstrukturan semula kerajaan persekutuan, governan yang baik.

ABSTRACT

Nigeria is a multi ethno-religious society with a great potential for social and economic development, although this development is seen by many people as an easy way to enjoy the democratic dividends; others see it as a way to express their grievances. Therefore, the result is the persistence occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts. Since the return of democracy in May 1999, more than one hundred ethno-religious and politically motivated conflicts have occurred in the country. The purpose of this study therefore is to examine the root cause and the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts from 2000-2007 and the threat they pose to the democratically elected government. The study investigates the history of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria and argues that the foundation of ethno-religious and political conflicts was laid by the issue of colonialism, and which has been supported by the Nigerian military dictatorship, followed by the contradictions compounded in the Nigerian federalism. During the study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ninety respondents, and a session of focus group discussions with participants from the six states of north-east region. An interview guide based on a conceptual frame work was established based on literature review. These data were then analyzed qualitatively. The study also outlines the general background of ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria, with particular reference to north-east region. It also discusses its origin and highlights the key concepts used in the dissertation. The study revealed that ethno-religious intolerance, poverty occasioned by unemployment, corruption, illiteracy and ignorance, economic hardship, and poor leadership are the most significant hindrances to the peace process, unity and political stability in the area. The study concludes that good governance, accountability, alleviation of poverty and unemployment, education reform and the restructuring of federalism in Nigeria are most important issues to be addressed in order to control the impact of ethno-religious and political conflicts.

Key words: Political conflict, ethno-religious, restructuring of federalism, good governance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I'd like to express my sincere gratitude to Allah (SWA) who gave me Strength to go on up to this level. Many people have provided valuable inputs into this dissertation, the list is obviously endless. However, I would like to note down and thank the following wonderful persons:

To my supervisors Professor Madya Dr. Mohd Foad Sakdan and Professor Madya Dr. Rohana Yusof for their motivation, guidance and useful suggestions throughout the various stages of this research during the course of my study.

To all UUM staff who assisted me during this journey especially PM Dr. Asmah Laili Bt Yeon, PM Dr. Shafee B Saad, PM Dr. Ahmad Martadha, Dr Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, Yus Asmah, Sobiro Binti Md. Taha, Nor Fatima Binti Hashim, and Idris bin Ismail staff of my college, COLGIS and the staff of Research and Innovation Management Centre (RIMC) College of Law, Government and International Studies.

To my colleagues who provided inputs and share their experience with me by sharing thoughts and comment during the course of the study.

Finally, my greatest gratitude goes to my wife, sons and daughter, and all the members of my family for giving me the opportunity, the time, their support, and most importantly, their unconditional love during this journey without their love, this journey would never have been accomplished: Mac and Ayah-thanks for your greatest love and dua.

TIJJANI HALLIRU

Collage of Law, Government and International Studies

Universiti Utara Malaysia

0610 UUM Sintok, Kedah Darul Aman

2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Titlen Page.....	i
Permission to Use.....	ii
Abstrak.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE	
INTRODUCTION	
1.0 Background of the Study	1
1.1 Root of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts in Nigeria	5
1.2 Problem Statement	8
1.3 Research Questions	9
1.4 Objectives of the study.....	10
1.5 Significance of the study.....	10
1.6 Scope of the study	11
1.7 Limitation of the study.....	11
1.8 Operational Definition	12
1.9 Organisation of the Study	13
1.10 Summary	13
CHAPTER TWO	
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
2.0 Literature Review.....	15
2.1 Introduction.....	15
2.2 Factors Responsible for the Persistent Occurrence of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts.....	16
2.2.1 Economic Factor	22
2.2.2 Ethno-Political Mobilization.....	25
2.3 The Impact of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts.....	26
2.3.1 Sectarian violence	29
2.3.2 Political intolerance	30
2.3.3 Indigenous/Settlers factors.....	30
2.4 Diversity of Nigeria	33
2.5 The Nature and Scope of Nigeria’s Identity Diversity	35
2.5.1 Ethnicity.....	36

2.6 How Ethnic and Religious Conflicts Threaten the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria.....	39
2.7 Diversity Implications.....	42
2.8 Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in Nigeria: A Colonial Legacy	43
2.9 The Role of the State in Managing Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in Nigeria.....	45
2.10 Federalism and Its Contradictory Effects in Nigeria	47
2.11 Theoretical Framework.....	48
2.11.1 Structural Conflict Theory	49
2.11.2 Economic theory of conflict.....	54
2.12 Gap in Literature	56
2.13 Summary	57

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

3.0 Introduction.....	59
3.1 Reasons for Adopting Qualitative Research	59
3.2 Sources of Data	60
3.3 Method of Data collection	61
3.3.1 Interviews.....	61
3.3.2 In-depth Interview Method	64
3.3.2.1 One-on-one interview method	64
3.3.2.2 Focus Group Interview	66
3.4 Method of Data Analysis	68
3.5 Validity of Data.....	72
3.6 Sample Size.....	74
3.7 Background of the Study Area.....	74
3.7.1 North-Eastern Region	74
3.7.1.1 Adamawa State	75
3.7.1.2 Bauchi State	76
3.7.1.3 Borno State	76
3.7.1.4 Gombe State	77
3.7.1.5 Taraba State	77
3.7.1.6 Yobe State	77
3.8 Summary	78

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN NIGERIA

4.0 Introduction.....	80
4.1 Religious Pluralism in Nigeria.....	80
4.2 Traditional African Values as a Religious Belief	81
4.3 Early Development of Islam in Nigeria	84
4.4 The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio (1804-1808)	88
4.5 Colonial Government and the Spread of Islam.....	92
4.6 Unification of Islamic Communities in Nigeria.....	93
4.7 Eastern Nigeria and the Spread of Western Islam	95
4.8 Revitalization of Islam in Northern Nigeria	96
4.9 The Introduction of Izala Sect in Northern Nigeria	98
4.10 The Emergence of Christianity in Nigeria	100
4.11 How Christianity Spread in North-Eastern Region	101
4.12 The Spread of Christianity in Yoruba Land.....	102
4.13 The Niger Mission of Christianity in Northern Nigeria.....	105
4.14 The Coming of Christianity to Ibo Land.....	111
4.15 Convergence of Politics into Islam in Northern Nigeria	112
4.16 Convergence of Christianity and Politics in Northern Nigeria.....	116
4.17 The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)	121
4.19 Conclusion	124

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Data Collection and Analysis.....	126
5.2 The Sharia Conflicts	129
5.3 Religious Intolerance	135
5.4 Illiteracy and Ignorance	136
5.5 Refugee Problems and other Impacts of the Conflict	138
5.6 State failure	144
5.7 Deprivation, Marginalization and Dominance.....	148
5.8 Case of Ethnic Conflict in North-East Region.....	149
5.9 Consequences of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in Nigeria.....	155
5.9.1 Diversity of National Unity	156
5.9.2 Weakening the Stability	157
5.9.3 Undermining of National Security Agencies	157

5.9.4 Economic Impact	158
5.9.5 Political Impact	159
5.10 Summary	161

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction.....	162
6.1 Summary	164
6.2 Discussion of Findings.....	166
6.3 Conclusion	170
6.4 Contribution of the study	170
6.5 Recommendations.....	171
6.5.1 Educational Development among Citizens.....	171
6.5.2 Religious Tolerance	172
6.5.3 Illiteracy and Ignorance	173
6.5.4 Sharia Penal Code	174
6.5.5 Committed to True Federalism in Governance.....	175
6.5.6 Reduce Unemployment rate through initiation of good plans	176
6.5.7 Religious Enlightenment Programme	177
6.5.8 Improvement of Socio-economic Conditions of the Citizens.....	178
6.5.9 Dispatching Commensurate Security Agents	178
6.5.10 Proactive Measures	179
6.5.11 Recommendations for Further Study	179
References.....	181
Appendices.....	193

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

The political context called Nigeria was constituted by the British colonial masters in the year 1914. The protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria which comprises up to 371 ethnic nationalities has the majority of mainly the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba while others are lumped together as minorities (Otite 1990; Suberu 1996; Mustapha 1998; IDEA 2000 in Alulo2003). Nigeria is situated in the West African sub-region and lies between 3 and 14 degrees longitude and between 4 and 14 degrees latitude. The land mass is 923,768 sq km, Nigeria shares borders with the Republic of Chad and Niger Republic to the north, the Republic of Benin to the west and the Cameroon Republic to the east. With an estimated population of over 137 million people (Adebisi, 1999), ethno-religious and political conflicts is an endemic feature of most of the world's political systems. This is particularly true of the developing countries, including Nigeria, where ethno-religious and political conflicts become essential characteristics of the political process, especially after the 1960 independence. However, it is rather unfortunate that after independence, Nigeria stumbled from violent conflicts and near disintegration as the country witnessed a marked increase in the bitterness of party, ethno-religious antagonism and intolerance.

Specifically, Nigeria has demonstrated a very high propensity for ethno-religious and political conflicts during the fourth republic (1999-2007); ethnic, religious and regional tension was widespread. Episodes of violence were ethnic or religious on the surface were often caused by political competition and economic influence, in a country where politics is seen as one of the few avenues to a mass wealth. In Nigeria,

The contents of
the thesis is for
internal user
only

References

- Abdullahi, A., Ali, A., & Saka, L. (2007). Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts Threat to Nigerian Nascent Democracy. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 9(3),21-36.
- Abdu, H. (2010). Clash of Identities State, Society & Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria. DevReach Publishers Nigeria Ltd Kaduna.
- Abdulrahman, I., & Usman, T. (2008). Conflict management and peace building in Africa the role of state and non-state agencies. *Information, Society and Justice* , 1(2), 185-202.
- Aborisade, O., & Mundt, R. (1999). *Politics in Nigeria*. New York: Longman.
- Adamu, A. (2005). "People of the North Think". In H. Bobboyi, & A. Yakubu, *Peace Building and Conflict Resolution in Northern Nigeria (eds.)*. Kaduna: Arewa House.
- Adebisi, M. A. (1999). Ethnic Relations and Politics in Nigeria. In Ibrahim, A. *Contemporary social problems in Nigeria (eds.)*. Shebiotimo Publication.
- Adeyemi, L. (2006). Ethno-religious conflicts and the travails of national integration in Nigeria's fourth republic. *Political science & public administration Adekunle Ajasin University Ondo State, Nigeria* , 1-12.
- Adebayo, I. (2010). Ethno-Religious Crises & the Challenges of Sustainable Development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(4).
- African Journal of Political Science & International Relations* , 1,(2) 028-037.
- African Journal on Conflict Resolution by the African centre for the constructive resolution of disputes (ACCORD)*, 2008.
- Ahmadu, H., & Maiangwa, J. (2007). Reflections on insight into Nigeria's political instability since independence: Alternative proposal for consideration. *Maiduguri Journal of Art and Social Sciences*, , Vol. 5.
- Ake, C. (2000). *The feasibility of democracy in Africa*. Codesria Dakar, Senegal.
- Akinwumi, O., Okpeh, O., & Gwamna, J. D. (2006). *Inter- group relations in Nigeria during the 19th and 20th centuries (eds.)*. Ibadan: Aboki Publishers.
- Alanamu, A. (2005). Violence and Politics in Nigeria. In S. Ayinla, *Issues in political violence in Nigeria, 1999-2003: (ed.)*. Ilorin: Hamson Ltd.

- Alemika, E. (2000). *Sociological Analysis of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in the*
- Alubo, O. (2006). Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central region
- Alulo, O. (2003). Ethnic nationalism & the Nigeran democratic experience in the fourth republic. *Anthropololist* , 5(4): 253-259.
- Avav, T. (2002). Refugees in Own Country. The Tiv-Jukun Crises, Abuja Supreme, 93.
- Ayandele, E.A (1979) Nigerian Historical Studies. Taylor & Francis, United Kingdom.
- Babangida, I. (2002). Ethnic nationalities & the Nigerian state: The dynamics & challenges of governance in plural Nigeria. *Conference proceeding, National Institute for Policy & Strategic Studies, Kuru, Nigeria.*
- Baker, L. (1994). *Doing social science research*. Macgraw-hill, Inc.
- Bates, R. (2000). Ethnicity & development in Africa. *Reappraisal American review* , 90, 131-134.
- Bego Abdullahi. (2004). *Taliban of Nigeria: Who are they?* Weekly Trust, Abuja; 3-9
- Boer, H. (2004). Muslims: Why the Violence? Studies in Chriatian-Muslim Relation, Vol.2. Belleville, Ontario, Canada: Essence Publishing.
- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods 2nd edition*.
- Bordens, K., & Abbott, B. (2008). *Research design and methods: A process approach, seventh edition*.
- Boyd, J, & Shagari, S. (2003). The Life and Legacy of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, Oxford: Macmillan.
- Brown, M. (1996). *The International dimension of Conflict*. Cambridge Mass, MIT Press.
- Building*, in Ashiwaju, G and Abubakar, Y. (eds) *Nigeria Since Independence – the First Twenty five Years* Ibadan: Heinemann, 71-97.
- Burton, J. (1990). *Conflict: human needs theory*. London: Macmillan.

Christopher, C. (2003). Does inequality cause conflict? *Journal of international development* , 15, 397-412.

Collier, P. (2000). Policy for post- conflict societies: Reducing the risks of renewed conflict. *Conference proceeding the economics of political violence March 18-19*. Princeton University & the development research group, World Bank.

Collier, P. (2007). *The bottom billion: Why the poorest countries are failing & what can be done about it*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooney, M. (2009). Ethnic conflict without ethnic groups a study in pure sociology. *The British Journal of Sociology* , 60, 3, 473-492.

Coser, L. (1966). *Sociological Theory: A book of Sociological Reading*. 2nd ed, London: McGraw Hill.

Creswell, J. (1995). *Research design: Qualitative & quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. (2008). *Educationl research: Planning, conducting, & evaluating quantitative & qualitative research*. Pearson International Edition.

Dele, S. (1995). National Daily, Sunday Vanguard, February 19.

Denzin, K., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). *The sage handbook of qualitative research, 3rd ed*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Diamond, L. (1988). *Class, ethnicity and democracy in Nigeria: The failure of the First republic*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: The Macmillan Press.

Doyin, M. (2000). Sneeze at Sagamu Cold in Kano, The Guardian Newspaper 3rd August, 61

Dunmoye, A. (2003). General Survey of Conflicts in the Middle Belt Zone of Nigeria. *Africa Peace Review, Special Edition* , 18.

Ecumenical Theology, Enugu, the Ecumenical Association of Nigerian Theologians, Vol. 14,

Edlyne, A. (2002). Is Democracy really the Answer: State of Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria? Lagos: Clupas Publications.

Edoh, T. (2001). The upsurge of ethno-religious sentiments & the future of democracy in Nigeria. *Journal of Political & Administrative studies* , 1, 2, 28.

Eghosa, O. (2005). *History of identities, violence, & stability in Nigeria*. Retrieved 2nd May 2010, from <http://www.crise.ox.uk/pubs/workingpaper6.pdf>.

Egwu, S. (2001). *Ethnic & religious violence in Nigeria*. Abuja: African centre for democratic governance (ARIGOV).

Enwerem, I. (1995). *Dangerous Awakening: The Politicization of Religion i Nigeria*. Ibadan: Intec Printers Limited, 20.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth & crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Ezechukwu, U. (2000). *Is Nigeria breaking up?* West Africa.

Fagbadebo, O. (2007). Corruption, governance & political instability in Nigeria.

Falola, T. (1999). *The History of Nigeria*, London: Greenwood Press, 19.

Fathi, M. O. (2004). "God is the All-Peace, the Merciful" in ed. James Heft, *Beyond Violence: Religious Sources for Social Transformation in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, New York: Fordham University Press.

Fearon, D., & David, L. (2003). Ethnicity, insurgency & civil war. *American Political Science Review* , 97.15-90.

Federal Government of Nigeria, (1999). *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. <http://www.nigerialaw.org/ConstitutionOfTheFederalRepublicOfNigeria.htm>

Ferreira, L., & Merchan, A. (1992). Field research in management accounting & control: A review & evaluation. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* , 5, (4), 3-34.

Fish, M., & Robin, S. (2004). Does diversity hurt democracy? *Journal of Democracy* , 15, 154-166.

Fisher, S. (2000). *Working with conflict, skills & strategies for action*. New York: Martins press.

Fjelde, H. (2009). *Sub-national determinants of non-state conflicts in Nigeria, 1991-2006*. Uppsala University & Centre for the Study of Civil War, 1-30.

Fox, J. (2000). Religious causes of discrimination against ethnic minorities. *International Studies Quarterly* ,23, 44.

Fox, J. (2004). The rise of religious nationalism & ethnic conflict: revolution & wars, 1945-2001. *Journal of Peace Research* , 41, 6, 715-731.

Francis, D. (2006). *Uniting Africa: Building regional peace & security systems*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

E.R Yeld (1960). Islam and Social Stratification in Northern Nigeria. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 11, No2

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research* , 3:27.

Geoffrey, P. (1974). African Traditional Religion, 3rd ed. London: Sheldon Press.

Griffin, M. (2003). *Reaping the whirlwind: Afghanistan, Al Q'aida & the holy war*. London: Pluto Press.

Gurr.R. (1993b). "Why Minorities Rebel". *International Political Science Review* 2,14 , 161-201.

Holstein, G. (1997). Active interviewing. In D. Silverman, *Qualitative research: Theory, Method & Practice (ed)*. London: 113-129.

Horowitz, D. (2002). Constitutional design: proposals versus processes. In A. Reynolds, *Architecture of democracy: Constitutional design, conflict management, & democracy (ed.)*. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.cdd.org.uk/cfcr/presidentialmemorandum.htm>

Human Rights Monitor Special Edition.

Human Rights Watch, 2006.Oil Companies Complicit in Nigerian Abuses.

HYPERLINK"<http://www.hrw.org/news/1999/02/23/oil-companies-complicit-nigerian-abuses>"<http://www.hrw.org/news/1999/02/23/oil-companies-complicit-nigerian-abuses> Accessed 23 December 2011.

Ibrahim, J. (2000). The transformation of ethno-religious identities in Nigeria. In A. Jega, *Identity transformation & identity politics under structural adjustment in Nigeria (ed)* . Stockholm, Elanders Gotab.

Imoagene, O. (1989). *The Nigerian class structure* . Ibadan: Evans.

Jega, A. (1998). The Nigerian Federalism System. *Conference proceeding problems and prospects on federalism & centralization in Africa: The multi- culture challenge*. University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Jega, A. (2004). Democracy, economic crisis & conflicts: A review of the Nigerian situation. *Quarterly journal of administration Ille-efe; Obafemi Awolowo University* , xxxii,1.

Jibrin, Ibrahim. (1991). Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 115-136.

Jibrin Ibrahim (2003). The Transformation of Ethno-Regional Identities in Nigeria, in Identity Transformation and identity politics under structural adjustment in Nigeria. Clear Impression, Nigeria

Jinadu, A. (2007). Explaining & managing ethnic conflicts in Africa: Towards a cultural theory of democracy. *Conference proceedings Claude Ake Memorial Series (CAMP) No.1*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.

Joseph, P., & Randall, S. (2009). *Working through conflict: Strategies for relationships, groups & organisations six edition, 41*. Pearson Education, Inc.

Joseph Kenny (1996). Shariah and Christianity in Nigeria: Islam and a Secular state. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol 26, Fasc, 4

Johannes Harnischeffer (2006) : Islamizatio and Ethnic Conversion in Nigeria. *Anthropos, Bd, 101, H1*

Kalu, O.U (1980). The History of Christianity in West African Essays Lecture, London and NewYork: Longman Group LTD.

Kukah, H.M. (1993). Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria. Ibadan Spectrum.

k.B.C. Onwuibuko (1967), School certificates in West African History. *Spectrum Publishers, Nigeria*

Kushee, D. (2008). Political Thurgery in the North-East & North-West Zone, Nig.

Kwaja, A. (2008). Ethnic & religious conflicts in Wase LGA, Plateau state, Nigeria. In S. Best, *Causes & effects of conflicts in the southern zone of Plateau state, Nigeria (ed)*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Limited.

Lake, D., & Rothschild, D. (1996). Containing Fear: The origins & management of ethnic conflict,. *International Security* , 21, 2.

Langer, A., & Brown, G. (2008). Cultural status inequalities: An important dimension of group mobilization. In S. F, *Horizontal inequalities & conflict: Understanding group violence in multiethnic countries (ed.)*. Palgrave: London.

Lawan, M. (2005). The threats of ethno-religious conflict to the sustainability of democracy in Nigeria. *Journal of Social & Management Studies Kano; Bayero University* , 7.

Leedy, P., & Ormrod, E. (2005). *Practical research: Planning and design (8th Ed.)*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Merrill Prentice Hall.

Lewis, J., & Ritchie, J. (2003). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students & researchers, eds.*

Lewis, P., & Michael, B. (2000). *Attitudes towards democracy & Markets in Nigeria: Report of a national opinion survey, January-February*. Washington, DC: International foundation for election systems & management systems international.

Lodico, M., Spaulding, D., & Voegtle, K. (2006). *Methods in educational research from theory to practice*.

Logams, P. (2004). The Middle Belt Movement in Nigerian Political Development: A Study in Political Identity 1949 – 1967, Abuja: Centre for Middle Belt Studies, 34.

Loimeier, R. (1997). *Islamic Reform & Political Change in Northern Nigeria*, Evanston: North western University Press, 3.

MacLean, P. (1975). On the evolution of three mentalities. In S. & Ariet, *New dimensions in psychiatry: A world view*. New York: John Wiley, 2.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage Publication, Inc, 114.

Marx, K. (1937). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. New York: Intal Publisher.

Maslow, A. (1970). *Motivation & personality*. New York: Macmillan (2nd ed).

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative research*. Sage publication London.

Maxwell, J. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Sage: California.

May, T. (1997). *Social research: Issues, methods & progress*. Open University Press: Buckingham, 2nd Ed.

Memorandum submitted to the Presidential Committee on National Security in Nigeria. (2008, Dec). Retrieved Oct, 15, 2011

Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research & case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Middle Belt of Nigeria: Ethnic & Religious Rights,. A Quarterly Publication of

Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). *A qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Sage Publications: California, 2nd Ed.

Mu'azzan, I, & Jibrin, I. (2000). "Religious Identity under Structural Adjustment Programme" in *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria* ed. Attahiru Jega, Uppsala: Nordic African Institute.

Mustapha, C., Habu, M., & Ibrahim, A. (2008). *Poverty in Nigeria: Causes, manifestations & alleviation strategies*. Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd, London.

Mustapha, R. (2009). "Institutionalising ethnic representation" How effective is affirmative action in Nigeria? *Journal of International Development J. Int. Dev.* 21, 561-576.

Mutombo, S.N. (1996). "Interreligious Dialogue in Black Africa among Christianity, Islam & African Traditional Religion, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 33, 4, Fall, 528-556.

National War College, A. (2006, 5). *Report of national workshop on ethnic militias, democracy & national security*. Abuja Nigeria.

Nigeria Eddy Asae Nigeria Press, Ajegunle Street, Lagos.

Nigeria, F. G. (1967). *The Nigeria Police Act* . FGN, Abuja.

Nigeria, F. G. (1999). *Constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria* . Lagos: Federal Government Printer.

Nigeria, F. G. (2002). *Institute for peace & conflict resolution Strategic Conflict Assessment, Consolidated Report*. FGN, Abuja.

Northup, T. (1989). Dynamics of identity in personal & social conflict. In K. e. al, *Intractable conflicts & their transformation* . Syracuse: Syracuse University Press (eds.) .

Obasanjo, O. (2004). "*Text of broadcast to the nation on the declaration of a state of emergency in Plateau state,*". Daily Trust Newspaper, Abuja, Wednesday, May 19.

Oduyoye, M.(1969). "The Planting of Christianity in the Yoruba land: 1842 –1888" in ed. Ogbu Kalu *Christianity in West Africa, the Nigerian Story*, Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1969.

Ogbu, U. (1996). *Federalism State and Religion in Nigeria*. Jos Institute of Governance and Social Research, 282.

Ogoh, A. (2008). *Ethnic conflicts and crises in the central region, Nigeria*. Kuru: National Institute for Policy & Strategic Studies.

Ogwumike, F. (2003). "An appraisal of poverty reduction strategies in Nigeria". *Central Bank of Nigeria, Economic & Financial Review* , 39 (4).

Okafor, F. (1997). *New Strategies for Curbing Ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Nigeria* (Ed). Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishers.

Okolona, L. (2009). Solidarity step inter-religious Unity in Nigeria. *Journal of Stellar Peacemaking* , 4,1,1-15.

Olayode, K. (2007). "Pro-democracy movements, democratisation & conflicts in Africa: Nigeria, 1990-1999", *African Journal of International Affairs, Council for the development of social science research in Africa (CODESRIA)* , 10,1&2,.

Olupona, J. (2003). "African Religion", in *Global Religions* ed. Mark Juergensmeyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Olupona, J. (2003). *African Religion*, in *Global Religions* ed. Mark Juergensmeyer Oxford: Oxford University Press, 80.

Oluwale, O. (1986). *Coast of many colours*, Unilorin Publication Nigeria, 10

Omotola, J. (2007). Democratization, good governance & development in Africa the Nigerian experience. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* , 9, 4.

Omotosho, M. (2008). Peace building as an effective mechanism & strategy in conflict de-escalation Nigeria in perspective. *Conference proceedings of society for peace studies & practice, 16-18 June* (pp. 2-20). Institute for Peace & Conflict Resolution Abuja, Nigeria.

Oruwari, Y. (2006). Youth in urban violence in Nigeria: A case study of urban gangs from Port Harcourt. *Conference proceedings Niger Delta economies of violence* (pp. 2-21). Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, USA .

Osaghae, E. (1995). *Structural adjustment & ethnicity in Nigeria*. Uppsala: Nordic African Institute.

Osaghae, E. (2004). Federalism & the management of diversity in Africa identity, culture & politics. *CODESRIA & ICES* , 5, 1 & 2, 162-178.

Osunibi, O., & Osunibi, T. (2006). Ethnic conflicts in contemporary Africa the Nigerian experience. *Journal of Social Science* , 12 (2): 101-114.

Oyadare, O. (1994). *Ethnic pluralism and ethnicity in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Shaneson C.I. Limited.

Oyemomi, E. (2002). Poverty reduction, NAPEP & the NGOs, in the Nigerian accountants. *Journal of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN)* , 36,2.

Paden, J. (2008). Faith and Politics in Nigeria: Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, Washing, D.C, United States Institute for Peace (USIP).

Paden, John. (2002). "Islam & Democratic Federalism in Nigeria", Bulletin of

Paden, N. (1986). Ahmadu Bello: Sardauna of Sokoto, London: Hodder Stoughton.

Patton, M. (1987). *How to use qualitative methods in evaluation*. London: Sage.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation & research methods (2nd Ed.)*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, In.

Robert, P. (1997). In Mwangi. J & Wacieni. K. Demanding Democracy. Harvard International Review Vol. 19 Issue 2: P. 48. Spring.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research (2nd Ed.)*. London: Blackwell.

Ross, M. (1993). *The management of conflict: Interpretations & interests in comparative perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

S.S.S. (12 August 2003). *Report by the State Security Service to the Executive Governor of Yobe State, S. 1/2069*. SSS, Nigeria, Yobe State.

S.S.S. (25 November 2003). *Report to the Executive Governor of Yobe State, TS.7/289*. State Security Service, Nigeria, Yobe State.

Scapens, R. (1990). Researching management accounting practice: The role of case study methods. *British Accounting Review* , 22, 259-281.

Scarborough, G. I. (1998). "An expert system for assessing vulnerability to instability". In T. Davies J.& Gurr, *Preventive measures: building risk assessment & crisis early warning systems (eds.)*. Lanham MD: Rowan & Littlefield.

Singleton, J., & Straits, B. (2005). *Approaches to social research (4th Ed)*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, A. (1996). Culture, community & territory the politic of ethnicity & nationalism . *Royal Institute of International Affairs* , 72,3, 445-458.

Smith, A. (1976). *An Inquiry into the Nature & Causes of Wealth of Nations*. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

Stephen, D. H. *Religion–The Secret Weapon “in Resolving Religious-based Conflicts*,
HYPERLINK

"http://www.icrd.org/storage/icrd/documents/religion_secret_weapon.pdf"

http://www.icrd.org/storage/icrd/documents/religion_secret_weapon.pdf. Accessed

13th October 2011

Stewart, A., Arnim, L., & Mustapha, A. (2009). Diversity & discord: Ethnicity, horizontal inequalities & conflict in Ghana & Nigeria. *Journal of International Development* , 21, 477–482.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures & technique*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc, 17.

Suberu, T. (2001). *Federalism & ethnic conflict in Nigeria*. Washington, Dc United State Institute of Peace Pres.

Suberu, T. (2005). A history of identities, violence, & stability in Nigeria. *Conference proceedings Centre for research on inequality, human security & ethnicity, CRISE*, 6 (pp. 4-27). University of Oxford: Oxford University press.

Suberu, T. (2009). Religion & institutions federalism & the management of conflicts over sharia in Nigeria . *Journal of International Development* , 21, 547-560.

Tahir Halliru Gwarzo (2003). Activities of Islamic Civic Association in Northwest of Nigeria: with Particular reference to Kano state, *Africa Spectrum*, Vol 38, No3

Taylor, S., & Bogdan, R. (1984). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: The search for meaning*. New York; Wiley.

Turaki, Y. (1997). *Tribal Gods of Africa: Ethnicity, Racism, Tribalism and the Gospel of Christ*. Jos Crossroad Communication.

Ukiwo, U. (2003). Politics, ethno-religious conflicts & democratic consolidation in Nigeria . *Journal of Modern African Studies* , 1, 41.

Ukiwo, U., & Diprose, R. (2008). Decentralisation & conflict management in Indonesia & Nigeria. *Conference proceedings Centre for research on inequality, human security & ethnicity, CRISE*, 49 (pp. 4-31). Oxford University Press Oxford.

Umar, M. (1989). *Islam in Nigeria: Its Concept, Manifestation and Role in Nation*

Uzoma, C. (2003). Religious pluralism, cultural differences, & social stability in Nigeria. *Conference proceedings Annual International Law & Religion Symposium, J. Reuben Clark Law School* (pp. 651-664). Brigham Young University.

Vasudev, D. (July 13-16, 2006). Resolving religious crisis for sustainable democracy in Nigeria. *Proceeding of International Conference, CENSUR 2006*, (pp. 1-11).

World Population DataSheet, (2009). Population Council, New York, U.S.A

Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: Design & methods (3rd Ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Yin, R. (1994). *Case study research: Design & methods, second edition*. Sage California.

Zikmund, G. .. (1991). *Business Research methods*. Oklahoma State University the Dryden Press, Third Edition.